RECEIVED
SERIALS DIVISION

The People's Korea

No. 1,032 EVERY SATURDAY MARCH 7, 1981 Price: ¥250 (US$1.00)

PROPERTY OF
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Strongman Gen. Chon Completes Phased Power Grab Operation

On March 3, Chon Du Hwan inaugurated himself as south Korea's new strongman of Pak Jung Hi type after receiving more than 90 percent of the votes cast in an indirect "presidential election" by the rubber-stamp electoral college.

His "presidential inauguration" means Chon's last play to grasp power to run the country as he pleases and the fourth coup following the army purge of Dec. 12, 1979, the expansion of martial law of May 17, 1980 and the ouster of former "president" Choi Gyu Ha of Aug. 16, 1980.

According to south Korean dailies, he received 4,755, or 90.2 percent of the 5,271 votes cast.

Chon's easy victory was anticipated since his Democratic Justice Party has more than the simple majority needed to win the presidency.

In addition, most of the 1,123 independents delegates were Chon's supporters. There was virtually no opposition candidate.

His party placed 3,675 delegates (69.4 percent) in the 5,278-member electoral college formed on Feb. 11.

But the election can be hardly called a fair election.

Prior to the election, Chon Du Hwan banned any anti-"government" political activities and purged most of the democratic and conservative political figures from politics.

Chon Du Hwan announced that the decision to lift martial law is aimed at creating a free atmosphere for a fair election.

As Tokyo's leading daily Asahi Shimbun noted on Jan. 25, the lifting of martial law has not brought any softening of the authoritarian rule by Chon Du Hwan.

He faked up the election law stipulating an indirect "presidential" election, running counter to national consensus of a direct "presidential" election.

Pyongyang called the election "political burlesque of traitor Chon Du Hwan for formally seating himself in the 'presidential chair' and gratifying his desire for long-time office."

The so-called "elections" staged by the successive south Korean authorities had been marked by widespread irregularities and fraudulence.

All police stations and substations and police box chiefs, county and sub-county office employees and heads of tong (the lowest administrative unit) and neighbourhood units were mobilized throughout south Korea to collect signatures for the "recommendation of candidates."

In Kangwon Province "election campaigners" of the Democratic Justice Party bought votes offering 5,000 won to each voter. In Taegu 20,000–30,000 won was given each head of tong and neighbourhood units.

The south Korean authorities set the age limit of "candidates for the electoral college" at above 30 to block the advance of young people and students with strong anti-"government" sentiments and resorted to threat and blackmail to persuads opposition not to run.

More than 230 candidates from the Democratic Justice Party at 110 constituencies were announced elected without voting even before the "election" was held because there was no rival.

The south Korean people knew that the election is not fair and showed no interest in it from the very first. Even wholly-"government" controlled newspapers said in its cartoons that people are at a loss to choose electors of the "president." (See Cartoons on Page 8)

On Feb. 12, Tong-A Ilbo reported that many invalid votes were cast by citizens of Kwangju where 2,000–3,000 citizens and students were killed by Chon's paratroopers last May.

Invalid votes accounted for 6.1 percent in No. 3 Constituency of Kwangju. There were a great number of invalid votes in other constituencies in Mokpo and other places, too, pointed out Seoul's leading daily.

One of the aims of "Team Spirit-'81" was to cow the south Korean people opposed to Chon's fascist policies and to ensure the smooth action of his robberry of power.

Chon Du Hwan ir a bid to justify his claim that he was "president" elected by the people, held the election farce.

He needed the so-called friendly nations' endorsement of his "government" as a legitimate one in order to qualify for their more economic aid.

The former general won a worldwide reputation as a human rights violater and a murderer because of his political trial of the democratic figures including Kim Dae Jung and the Kwangju massacre.

The people of south Korea will never accept Chon as their "president" and take a resolute action to put an end to the authoritarian rule by Chon.

DPRK Attacks Suzuki As Chon's Conspirator

The Japanese authorities are choosing to give greater assistance to the south Korean military rulers, while misleading public opinion with the claim that Japan has been fully relieved of the responsibility for the Kim Dae Jung problem with the "commutation" of the penalty on him.

In this connection Rodong Sinmun Feb. 28 came out with a signed commentary titled "Conspirator Encouraging Murderer," which said:

Japanese Prime Minister Suzuki said that he "wants to have an early discussion of the question of Japan-south Korea economic cooperation and regular ministerial meeting, etc." as the sentence on Kim Dae Jung had been "commuted."

It is said that Japan will discuss with the south Koreans a wide range of problems on further developing "security" and economic relations. The Japanese authorities even plan to "invite" traitor Chon Du Hwan to Japan and arrange his "talks" with Suzuki.

Now the Japanese authorities are making haste to intensify with renewed force their manoeuvres to stage a comeback to south Korea in all the political, economic and military fields with the Chon Du Hwan junta as the guide.

To support the Chon Du Hwan military junta and tighten aggressive tie-up with them is an open manifestation of a hostile policy towards the DPRK and a grave challenge laying a stumbling block in the way of peace in Korea and her peaceful reunification.

Declaring that the Japanese government can never evade its responsibility for the Kim Dae Jung case, the commentary continued:

It is committing another crime by extending support to the Chon Du Hwan junta, the military hooligans, under the pretext of "commutation," instead of discharging its unavoidable obligation to take an active measure for the release of Kim Dae Jung.

The Japanese ruling circles, lost to shame, are going to embrace the murderer driven to a blind alley, isolated from the south Korean people and the world people, and boost his morale.

The claim of the Japanese authorities that they have been relieved of responsibility with the "commutation" of the sentence on Kim Dae Jung is no more than a sophism for justifying their tightening of aggressive compact with the south Korean military gangsters.

The commentary stressed:

It is an invariable desire of the Japanese government to reduce south Korea to an appendage to the Japanese economy, rake up greater profits through harsher exploitation of the people and restore their old position of the colonial ruler in south Korea. It is for gratifying this desire that the Japanese ruling circles and monopoly capital are rendering a colossal "economic aid" to south Korea, helping the puppets in the construction of the war industry and even exporting a large quantity of destruction weapons. The Japanese authorities conduct "joint military exercises" with the south Korean army and send military gangsters affiliated with ultra-rightist organizations to south Korea to participate in military training directed against Pyongyang. Such act of Japan signifies her zealous participation in the U.S. imperialists' criminal moves to bar north-south dialogue and reunification, perpetuate division, aggravate confrontation and tension and ignite a war. This is dangerous to Japan herself.

The commentary declared:

It is a short-sighted act not seeing even three inches ahead for Japan to grasp the blood-smeared hands of traitor Chon Du Hwan the human-butcher, the target of grievances and hatred of the people and support him.

Japan should refrain from acts obstructive to the reunification of Korea and stop supporting the Chon Du Hwan junta. –KCNA

Pyongyang Calls Reagan Agent of U.S. Munitions Monopolies

Pyongyang charged the United States with heightening tension and jeopardizing peace in Korea and the rest of the world.

WPK organ Rodong Sinmun, in its Feb. 19 commentary, called a Reagan trigger-happy "agent of the U.S. monopoly capital and warlike servant reared by the munitions monopolies."

It warned Reagan that he had better act with discretion.

The daily was referring to Reagan's plan to reinforce the U.S. forces stationed in south Korea and to improve their equipment.

The plan also involves the deployment to south Korea of F-16 fighter bombers as an immediate step.

The new U.S. leader is reportedly planning to give greater military aid to the Chon junta to help modernize its armed forces.

Pyongyang's foremost paper said:

"Reagan is a bellicose element and warmaniac who took the post of the president, preaching the philosophy of strength that the interests of the United States should be defended by force of arms and security be placed above human rights.

"He regards the Korean Peninsula as the first testing ground for executing the global strategy by strength."

The Americans, together with south Koreans, are staging "Team Spirit-'81", as large-scale armed forces and combat equipment are being transported to south Korea.

The United States, Rodong Sinmun argued, "getting frantic with the scramble to seize major zones of resources and military-strategic vantages," try to keep hold on south Korea permanently and prevent a north-south dialogue and reunification. Reagan and his followers are determined to expand the sphere of Pax Americana with south Korea as a base, as is clear from the remarks by Haig.

Rodong Sinmun said, "Reagan is an agent of the U.S. monopoly capital and a warlike servant reared by the munitions monopolies. As he himself said, Reagan who has played all his life the role of marionette acting upon a script written by others is now dancing of the tune of the war trumpet blown by the 'death merchants' and executing their directions in Korea."

The new U.S. Defense Secretary announced at a recent press interview that the production of neutron bombs would be resumed at the earliest possible date.

It is noteworthy that as soon as Reagan took office the decision was adopted to resume the production of neutron bombs, which was withdrawn in 1978 in face of a powerful protest of the world public.

In addition, the United States set the scale of the defense budget for fiscal 1981 at around $170 billion the largest military spending which is tens of billions of dollars more than last fiscal year's and nearly double that of fiscal 1976.

The Americans made it plain that they would raise the figure to more than $200 billion.

The paper declared:

"They (Americans) are giving more and more military aid to south Korea and directing efforts to increasing the war potentials of the south Korean army under the name of balance of forces. This cannot be construed otherwise than attempt to create an arms race between the north and the south, aggravate tension and, furthermore ignite a war."

"The policy of war Reagan is persistently pursuing, encouraging the south Koreans, may lead to the outbreak of a war on the Korean Peninsula at any moment and if a military clash breaks out, its flame may easily spread outside Korea," the Pyongyang daily added.

If Reagan, the paper warned, "turning a deaf ear to our warnings, obdurately follows the reckless war policy and persists in a play with fire in Korea, he will drink a bitter cup and have to pay dear for it."

WPK Delegation Attends 26th Party Congress of CPSU

The delegation of the Workers' Party of Korea (WPK) headed by Li Jong Ok, member of the Presidium of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the WPK and Premier of the Administration Council, attended the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The delegation which arrived in Moscow on Feb. 21 by special plane was met at the Vnukovo Airport by D.A. Kunayev, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakh Communist Party; G. I. Marchuk, Vice-Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; I.N. Dmitriyev, Director of the Construction Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU; O.A. Chukanov, Vice-Director of the International Department of the C.C., CPSU; G.A. Kriulin, Alternate Member of the C.C., CPSU and Soviet Ambassador to Korea; and other personages concerned.

The Charge d'Affaires Ad Interim and officials of the Korean Embassy in Moscow were present at the airport.

The WPK delegation laid a wreath at the Mausoleum of Lenin in Moscow on February 22.

Administration Council Premier Li Jong Ok in his congratulatory speech made at the 26th Congress of the CPSU said:

"The parties and peoples of our two countries have formed an unbreakable friendship with blood in the protracted common struggle against imperialism and developed the comradely relations of actively supporting and closely cooperating with each other in accomplishing the common cause of socialism and communism."

Pointing out that the 6th Congress of the WPK advanced a new plan to reunify Korea by forming a confederal state, he said, "This proposal is a most reasonable and realistic one for establishing a unified state in our country by peaceful means and for enabling the whole nation to lead a harmonious life in a reunified land."

–KCNA

President KIM IL SUNG:
Korean Revolution Korean Job 45 Years Ago

Koreans: Masters of Korean Revolution

In 1936, the then General Kim Il Sung declared that the masters of the Korean revolution were the Korean people. He also revealed that the Communist International also supported his stand.

His declaration was made on a basis of a thorough-going review of the internal and international situation and, in particular, the harm done by the chauvinists and factional flunkeys to the development of the Korean national-liberation struggle.

He said that the Koreans "waged an uncompromising struggle against chauvinists and factionalists who tried to encroach upon the legitimate rights of the Korean Communists."

A meeting of military and political cadres of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army (KPRA) was held in a log cabin in the thick woods of Nanhutou, Ningan country, China, on February 27, 1936. His address to the meeting was "The Tasks of Communists in the Strengthening and Development of the Anti-Japanese National-Liberation Struggle."

In his speech, the then General Kim Il Sung said:

"The masters of the Korean revolution are none other than the Korean Communists. Today, whether or not our people's anti-Japanese national-liberation struggle will be stepped up depends entirely on us.

"The communists of each country must successfully carry out the revolution in their own country before anything else. Those who are not faithful to the revolution in their own country can never be faithful to world revolution nor can they be true internationalists."

Conducting the anti-Minsaengdan struggle in an ultra-"Leftist" way the chauvinists and factionalists took communists for saboteurs on the payroll of the Japanese and persecuted many patriots. This produced serious mistrust and split among the Korean communists and turned many anti-Japanese-minded people away from the revolution. It obstructed the independent development of Korean revolution and harmed the unity between the Korean and Chinese peoples.

Recalling the Tahuangwei and Yaoyingkou meetings were scenes of struggles against the reckless "leftist" chauvinist errors, the General drew attention to the fact that the Moscow-based Communist International fully supported his stand and claims. The Communist International endorsed his argument that the Koreans should concern themselves with the Korean revolution and that the KPRA must advance to the areas along the Amrok and Tuman rivers separating Korea from China and the Soviet Union.

The picture shows the then General Kim Il Sung delivering a report "The Tasks of Communists in the Strengthening and Development of the Anti-Japanese National Liberation Struggle," at a meeting of the military and political cadres of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army held in Nanhutou, Ningan county, China, on February 27, 1936.

Advance into Korea; United Front; Preparation for Party Establishment

The General, calling "unfeasible" a suggestion by the Communist International to reorganize the Korean and Chinese anti-Japanese armed forces active in Manchuria for their own separate operations, reminded that the mainstay of those forces were KPRA units and that the Korean communists were playing a nuclear role as political and military cadres in Chinese units. The proposed reorganization, the Korean guerrilla leader asserted, would "hinder the advancement of the anti-Japanese armed struggle" of the two peoples by weakening the anti-Japanese forces of the Chinese.

He said:

"We must carry on our military and political activities taking advantage of the favourable certain conditions of the large forests in south and east Manchuria until we lay solid foundations for the armed struggle in the homeland. Under these conditions we must organize and wage a joint anti-Japanese armed struggle in the name of the Anti-Japanese United Army rather than form Korean and Chinese units for separate actions."

"We must strengthen the KPRA units and advance to the border areas and, at the same time, positively help the Chinese units in increasing their combat capabilities by dispatching qualified political and military cadres to every Chinese unit of the Anti-Japanese United Army to be newly formed. Thus, we will see to it that there is a continuous upswing in the armed struggle in south and east Manchuria even after the KPRA's advance to the border areas and homeland."

"Availing myself of this opportunity I would like to stress once again that it is the natural right and lofty duty of the Korean Communists to devote themselves to the Korean revolution.

"We are now capable of pushing into the border areas and homeland for vigorous military and political activities. We have the communists ranks and the most heroic revolutionary armed force that have been tempered and closely united politically and ideologically in the past several years of the difficult struggle."

The Korean people at home, the guerrilla commander observed, regarded the guerrillas as "their beacon of hope" and were eagerly waiting for their lead role. He stressed the need to build a net work of secret bases around Mt Paektu.

He said, "... we intend to form a network of secret camps in the huge forests of Mt. Paektu, on which the KPRA can depend for its actions, and organize the people in the adjoining areas so as to set up guerrilla bases of a semi-guerrilla-zone type. They will serve as dynamic revolutionary fortresses invisible to the enemy."

"In order to bring about a great upswing in our anti-Japanese national-liberation struggle at the present stage we must move the main force of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army to the border areas and gradually extend the theatre of our struggle into the homeland," the General stated.

He also said that many guerrilla bases along the border line was needed. Mt. Paektu and its adjoining border areas were selected places for guerrilla bases. (1) These areas were inhabited by many poor Korean peasants who were forced to leave their native places in search of livelihoods. (2) They were favorably endowed with geographical conditions for the establishment of guerrilla bases. To borrow the words of the General "The vast expanse of virgin forests around Mt. Paektu literally forms a natural fortress. In addition, this area has a great advantage for us in future to expand the bases to the Paektu and Kaema Plateaus and the Rangrim Mountains and widen the theatre of armed struggle to the homeland."

Describing the rise of fascism "the greatest menace to the world now," General Kim Il Sung reported on the Seventh Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow in 1935, where Mr. Dimitrov delivered a major policy report and an appeal was adopted to the communist parties in different countries to "form anti-fascist popular fronts." He also recalled that the Communist Party of China was "appealing for a northern expedition against Japan."

These developments, in the words of the General, called for expansion of the united front in the Korean revolution.

Here is a quotation from the speech "The tasks of Communists in the Strengthening and Development of the Anti-Japanese National-Liberation Struggle."

"The expansion and development of this movement will enable us to unite broad anti-Japanese patriotic forces of different sections under the banner of resistance to Japan and further build up our people's revolutionary forces. Therefore, we must forcefully carry on this movement on a nationwide scale and achieve the country's liberation and independence by the efforts of us Koreans."

The new anti-Japanese national united front organization was characterized as a mass revolutionary organization capable of organizing and mobilizing the entire nation for national liberation. A handful of reactionaries were excluded such as pro-Japanese landlords, compradors capitalists and traitors to the nation.

"The active preparation for the founding of the party is urgently needed at present to unite the broad revolutionary forces of our people and make a fresh upswing in our anti-Japanese national-liberation struggle," the General argued.

He said the preparation was closely related to the strengthened unity among the Korean people.

Main tasks for party foundation were: (1) to steadily expand party organizations and establish a thorough system of guidance for them; (2) to fully guarantee the ideological purity of the revolutionary ranks based on Juche.

A log cabin where the Nanhutou Meeting was held

After Meeting

After the Nanhutou Meeting, the then General Kim Il Sung led units of the KPRA to the southwestern area of Mt. Paektu, passing through Minhunchen and Manchiang and other places of northeast China.

The General allowed many soldiers allegedly suspected of being Minsaengdan members, to return the guerrilla units. He ordered burned all their so-called affidavits and depositions. The evil effects of the "leftist" errors over the anti-Minsaengdan struggle were eliminated at last and unity restored among the Korean communists and the people.

The General called a meeting of military and political cadres of the KPRA at Tungkiang on May 1, 1936. This meeting was held for 15 days and during it the historic establishment of the permanent anti-Japanese national united front organization, the Association "for the Restoration of the Fatherland," was announced on May 5. The programme of the ARF was also presented there.

This association was Korea's first anti-Japanese national united front rooted in the masses.

The establishment of the ARF enabled the people of all strata who wondered their ways to advance, unite and to fight for the realization of their demand for the country's liberation.

During 1936, many secret camps were built on and around Mt. Paektu with the Mt. Paektu guerrilla base built in the summer. These bases greatly contributed to the KPRA's advance into the Korean Peninsula.

Since then, the Korean people's anti-Japanese and national-liberation struggle became nationwide and the national liberation was greatly accelerated.

Western, Japanese Press Comments on Washington-Seoul Military Ties

Western newspapers and magazine–New York Times, the Asian Wall Street Journal, Far Eastern Economic Review, Asahi Shimbun, Yomiuri Shimbun and Mainichi Shimbun–published articles denouncing "Team Spirit-81," Chon Du Hwan's trip to the U.S. and the Seoul authorities' crackdown on democracy.

Follow excerpts from them:

New York Times
Feb. 6

A once-promising U.S. commitment to human rights may have been swept under the red carpet rolled out this week for Chun Doo Hwan. During his White House visit, the south Korean president got about all he wanted: a legitimizing pat from President Reagan, a promise of hardware and an assurance that U.S. troops will stay in south Korea. And butter would have melted on Mr. Reagan's toast to Mr. Chun: "In the short time you've had, Mr. President, you've done much to strengthen the tradition of 3,000 years' commitment to freedom."

Conservatives argue that a secure, self-confident south Korean regime is more likely to follow a democratic path. They point out, plausibly, that the Carter administration got nowhere with a human rights policy that was sufficient to annoy but too weak to sway an authoritarian regime. In the end, both the Seoul government and its democratic opponents came to regard the policy as self-righteous humbug.

It is plainly true that, in the case of Seoul, the Reagan administration can already declare a victory. Just before his trip, Gen. Chun ended martial law and commuted the death sentence of his most outspoken critic, Kim Dae Jung. Nonetheless, Mr. Reagan's approach risks signaling total indifference to whatever an allied government may do to its own people.

Case in point: to spare Gen. Chun embarrassment, the administration got Congress to delay for a week the publication of an annual report on human rights that the State Department is required by law to prepare. If that is worrying, it is altogether alarming that the administration is considering Ernest W. Lefever as head of the department's Bureau of Human Rights. He is an ultraconservative who sneers at existing policy as sentimental nonsense and believes it is profound error to embarrass allies, however repressive, with talk about habeas corpus.

Not all conservatives share that view. William F. Buckley Jr., for one, has argued that there is precious substance in a policy of opposing all repression, on the right and left. There is strong appeal in his proposal to create an independent Commission on Human Rights, whose sole purpose would be to provide authoritative reports.

The human rights issue is not partisan or ideological. A U.S. commitment to human rights serves both moral and practical ends. To dilute or, worse, to parody that commitment serves neither.

The Asian Wall Street Journal
Feb. 12

President Reagan's decision to embrace President Chun of south Korea carries some risks. The principal one is that Mr. Chun will run an even harsher regime than his strong-armed predecessor, Park Chung Hee, and sow a kind of hatred of his own government. If this happens, there is the risk that, because President Reagan backed General Chun on the eve of Korea's presidential election, the hatred could ultimately be turned against America. This would be a new and tragic development in a nation that has exhibited little but good will on almost every level toward America in return for the U.S. bloodshed for Korea's freedom and the U.S. commitment to defend Korea in the future.

Far Eastern Economic Review
Jan. 30–Feb. 5

Initially, to impose the new regime's discipline, tens of thousands of people that his military reformers considered to be social miscreants were sent off to jail or re-education centres. Hundreds of intellectuals and students – political dissenters – are in detention on charges of breaking martial law edicts or national security laws. The nation's leading dissident, Kim Dae Jung, last week began a life sentence for plotting to overthrow the government. Kim was sentenced to death in September 1980. On January 23, the Supreme Court turned down his appeal, but the cabinet, on Chun's orders, soon afterwards commuted the sentence.

Chun's presence in the Blue House (south Korea's presidential residence) is now unassailable. The top echelon of the military is firmly behind his reformist regime; the new United States administration of President Ronald Reagan has given him political legitimacy by inviting him to Washington for talks about south Korea's problems and bilateral security arrangements.

He has already advanced the political timetable by two months and a new government under his control will be born in April or May – not by June as he had earlier promised. That was a well-planned move because spring in south Korea has traditionally been a season of political discontent.

In a modification of Park's old Yushin charter which it replaced, the Constitution states that the president will be chosen by an electoral college of 5,278 deputies who can individually campaign for specific candidates. Theoretically, the system enables opposition deputies to compete against those supporting Chun, but realistically it would be difficult because each candidate for the college must collect an endorsement from between 100 and 150 eligible voters.

In south Korea's politically restrictive atmosphere, where freedom of the press and other civil rights are carefully regulated, Yoo Chi Song, leader of the nation's second most influential group, the Democratic Korea Party, might be hard-pressed to find candidates to endorse his cause.

"One thing I wish to make clear is that I shall never allow myself to become another degenerate politician whom the nation, including myself, have so denounced in the past," he promised.

More than 7,000 people attended his nomination convention, making political contributions worth US$3 million on the spot. It symbolised the party's newly acquired strength in the person of Chun, as well as its precise organisation. The Democratic Justice Party was largely built from local organisations that had belonged to Park's disbanded Democratic Republican Party.

Few doubt Chun will win, whether he runs alone or opposed. Says Yoo: "What I want to emphasise by running in this election is to show the people we have not given up hope for democracy in this country." His candidacy, by his own admission, is symbolic.

A more realistic challenge to the Chun regime thus rests now with the institutional opposition groups but with the underground dissident movement that caused so much trouble under Park's Yushin system. A motley array of about 2,000 students and workers, Catholic clergymen and Protestant activists, efficiently organised and led by Kim Dae Jung from behind the scene, mounted a successful political campaign against a vast network of government security agencies.

Chun's decision to spare Kim's life is certain to modify the opposition's course of action. With Kim out of danger, dissidents are expected to hide their time and reorganise. But the longer-term stability of the Chun regime will depend on how it chooses to deal with the underground movement, the ranks of which have become complicated through the involvement of the Christian churches. South Korea is not a Christian nation like the Philippines, but the number of Protestants has risen to 8 million – or nearly a quarter of the population. Any harsh dealing with Christian dissenters could provoke a large number of politically- and socially-conscious people.

Unfortunately for Chun, the year of his political ascendency proved to be one of the worst for the economy. Swamped by political demonstrations, the imposition of martial law and Kim's trial, the economy which was Park's pride during his 18-year rule slid. Domestic oil prices rose three times in 1980, doubling South Korea's total oil bill to US$6 billion. A business slump influenced by the global recession and a new government under

"Toyo Keizai":

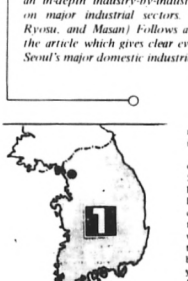
"South Korea's Economic Woes"

"Overlapping investments in heavy and chemical industries, a sharp rise in the number of jobless workers, and the continuing impoverishment of rural communities clearly indicate the fragility of the south Korean economy." This was said in feature articles run in the Feb. 21 issue of the Japanese economic weekly "Toyo Keizai" (Oriental Economic Affairs). It is the first in-depth analysis on the south Korean economy made by a Japanese economic magazine since U.S. President Reagan outlined continuing American economic aid to Seoul at the recent summit talks with Chon Du Hwan, and the Tokyo government defreezed its economic assistance to Seoul, signing new trade contracts with the Chon junta.

In the first part of the article headlined "South Korea's Economic Woes," the Japanese economic magazine said, primarily in view of financial exhaustion of the south Korean industries, the Japanese concerns could not be optimistic regarding new trade contracts with Seoul. Also this year, the magazine said, "there is no alternative for the south Korean economy to extricate itself from the present difficulties." In addition to a serious impoverishment of the domestic industries, "south Korea suffers from an unheard-of food crisis," the magazine pointed out. "South Korea will expand grain imports as well as rice imports on a crash basis."

In the second part of the article, the magazine attempted an in-depth industry-by-industry examination with stress on major industrial sectors. (Seoul, Ulsan, Changwon, Ryosu, and Masan) Follows a gist of the second part of the article which gives clear evidence of the exhaustion of Seoul's major domestic industries.

(Subtitles are ours ... Ed.)



1. Seoul Bankrupt Reflation Policy

In 1980 south Korea recorded a negative growth rate of 5.7 percent below the year-ago-level, the first negative growth rate since the 1960's. In addition, the rise in the number of jobless workers to 7 30,000 and an annual 44.4 per cent price increase clearly indicate the fragility of the south Korean economy.

Business Slowdown

The consequences of the current business slowdown are clearly seen in a sharp decline in capital investment. Due primarily to social instability stemming from various social disturbances such as the Kwangju Incident and the "social purification campaigns" conducted under martial law, most concerns are hesitant to invest money. Therefore, capital investments by private farms registered a 30 percent decline in 1979 from the previous year. As a result, the Seoul government's policy of developing heavy and chemical industries on a priority basis in the Fourth Five-Year Plan started in 1977 has failed. At present, the automotive industry is operating at 34 percent of its capacity while the operation rate of the heavy electric machinery industry is 40 percent.

More striking is the deterioration of earnings of most corporations. Since the middle of 1979, even the big business groups have been delaying the opening of letters of credit and payment of wages to their employees. Thus, speculations were rife among financial circles that most companies were on the brink of bankruptcy. In their half year settlement of accounts of 1980, 46 of the 319 companies listed on the Stock Market recorded red-ink figures.

The shortage of working funds is also clearly seen in the balance of international payments. The current account recorded a deficit of $5.5 billion in 1980, against a deficit of $4.2 billion in 1979. During the 1979-1980 period, because of south Korea's heavy dependence as a result of the government's policy of giving priority to the development of heavy and chemical industries, the sough Korean economy is seriously affected by an oil price increase.

In addition, due to a bribery scandal involving the Hyundai Construction Corp. in Saudi Arabia, exports of construction materials and services to the Middle East in the first half of 1980, was down 26 percent below from the comparable period of 1979. The tourist industry's earnings also slowed down due to the fact that Japanese tourists hesitated to visit south Korea. Thus, the country's trade deficit jumped sharply to about $1.3 billion, from $200 million in 1970.

In order to make up for the deficit, the south Korean government, in 1980, induced short-term loans amounting to $1.5 billion, up 4.6 times over the previous year. Even in 1975 when there were rumors flying about the deterioration in the south Korean payments account, the total amount of the introduction of short-term funds was $1.1 billion. Now, the south Korean economy faces being on the point of bankruptcy.

Export Expansion Policy's Aftermath

The economic policy adopted by the Standing Committee of the Committee for Emergency Measures for National Security in order to stimulate economic activity, was to follow again the economic policy pursued by the former Pak Jung Hi regime to tide over a difficult situation caused by the first oil crisis. In December 1974, the south Korean government came out with a devaluation of the won and switched to reflation policy. After that, in January 1980, the government announced a 19.8 percent devaluation of the won. It was devalued from 484 won to 590 won to the U.S. dollar. In February, the government switched to the floating rate policy and continued its reflation policy by lowering prime rates three times, totalling 5 percentage points. As it had done before, the government intended to reflate the economy by carrying out export-oriented policy and to stimulate business activity in keeping with the recovery of world economy.

However, this time, the government is forced to depend on exports more than it did before. First, the government should take account of redundant capital investments made in the heavy and chemical industrial sector. As a measure to tidy up overinvestments and redundant investment, the government carried the first and the second regrouping program aimed at major industries (automobile, machine building, diesel engine manufacture, heavy electric equipment, and copper refining.) However, these regrouping programs are not proceeding smoothly. (See No. 2 Ulsan, Changwon) The second question is the impoverishment of rural communities. The total production of agriculture, forestry, and fisheries in 1980 registered a negative growth of 20 percent in 1980 from the previous year. The main factor for this was a serious food crisis. It is said that south Korea's grain production was down 18.30 percent in 1980 from the preceding year. Though the government says that this was largely because of damage due to frost caused by abnormal weather conditions, analysts point out that due to increased wages for temporary workers during the harvesting season and also as a result of the exodus of the rural population to urban areas under the high-rate economic growth policy, farmers are compelled to engage in below-cost grain production, and consequently they are fast abandoning their farm work.

The impoverishment of rural communities has resulted in weakening the domestic market and a marked deterioration of south Korea's international balance of payments position due to increased grain imports. From this point of view, there is no alternative for south Korean industries but to extricate themselves from these difficulties through export drive. However, export expansion will not work in such a way as to resolve "contradictions" in south Korean industries but will result in making them exhaust their energy.

Even the shipbuilding industry, one of south Korea's export-oriented industries, remains strong, but the question is whether or not it can operate above a break-even level. Even if it can made ship builds, it depends on other countries including Japan for the main equipment, which account for 25-27 percent of the total shipbuilding cost. Furthermore, the cost of such marine machinery is steadily rising due to the won devaluation. In short, the shipbuilding industry has made efforts to expand exports, giving no thought to profitability and technical considerations. This state of the shipbuilding industry applies to other industries, too, which are said to be strong.

Workers have to bear the brunt of the present policy of export expansion. President Chon, in the beginning of this year, announced a 15 percent increase in the salaries of officials, and exhorted private organizations to follow suit so that south Korean industry might recover its export competitiveness. However, the annual increase of consumer prices is about 50 percent, and the government's reflation policy will certainly bring about galloping inflation. The question is whether workers will accept a substantial decrease in real wages. At the basis of a series of labor-management disputes, including those which occurred in Tongwon Coal Mine Co. and Donguk Steel Co. following the Kwangju Incident, was a wage hike question.

However, if the government fails in its wage-pegging policy, business enterprises will be weakened even before the world's economy is activated. President Chon's reflation policy is a risky economic adventure.

2. Ulsan, Changwon Ind. Re-Grouping Hits Snag

In August and October, last year, south Korea's industry was given an appalling shock by government's measure for the needed industrial regrouping of automobile and machine enterprises. It is an undeniable fact that south Korea's heavy industrial sector is on the verge of bankruptcy as an consequent result of redundant investments by enterprise groups, which have continued in line with the government's policy of giving priority to the expansion of the heavy and chemical industries. The existence of too many competing enterprises in heavy and chemical industries and their financial straits are largely attributed to the government's policy of extending loans to them generously which accounts for 80 percent of the government's long-term loan extension, and the government's present industrial regrouping policy is of a patchup or hit-or-miss nature.

Automobile

The regrouping of automobile and machine building enterprises in August last year hit a snag.

"10-day operation," "10-day cleaning," and "10-day shutdown of operation" ... this phrase aptly characterises the present operation status of the south Korean automobile industry in a month. Hyundai Motor Co. whose main factory is located in Ulsan, South Kyongsang Prov., chalked up a deficit of $9.8 billion for the first half of 1980 and Kia Industry Co. recorded $8.8 billion in deficit for the same period.

Due to the tight money policy which has been followed since April 1979, domestic demand for automobiles has been diminishing, making the final effects of redundant investment all the more visible. In 1980, a total of 100,000 automobiles were put on the domestic market, down 40 percent from the previous year. The automotive industry exported to the Middle East and Central South America only 26,000 units, down 10 percent from the previous year. In this situation, it is rumored that Hyundai Motor held unsold stockpiles of about 110,000 "Ponies."

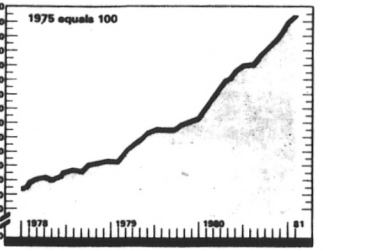
Under the above-mentioned circumstances, Hyundai Motor and Saehan Motor were to be merged into one enterprise producing passenger cars and the Kia Industry was to specialize in the manufacture of 1-5 ton duty trucks.

However, the multinational corporation General Motors strongly opposed this regrouping plan. Saehan Motor, scheduled to be absorbed by Hyundai Motor, is a fifty-fifty joint venture between GM and local Daewoo Ind. Co. Though Daewoo Ind. agreed with the government to release Saehan Motor from its wings, GM objected to it, demanding a 34 percent share in the projected new company and participation in its management. The Hyundai Motor opposed the GM proposal claiming the GM's participation in the management of the proposed company would shatter south Korea's dream of developing its domestic cars.

The government which was mak-

(Continued on page 5)

South Korean Prices



Consumer prices in South Korea last month rose 1.7% from December and 32.3% from a year earlier. The index registered 254.2 in January.

(From the Feb. 11 issue of the Asian Wall Street Journal)

Seoul's Economic Woes

(Continued from page 4)

ing desperate efforts to induct foreign investments judged that it would be better not to irritate a big foreign concern. As a result, President Chon Ju Yong of Hyundai Motor who accompanied President Chon Du Hwan on his trip to the U.S. and GM's leading officials held a summit meeting to settle the dispute. As a result, they reportedly agreed to GM's claim for a 34 percent share in the projected joint venture and its participation in the management of the company.

Electric Generator

Meanwhile, the realignment of electric generator makers had to undergo a number of twists and turns.

In September 1980, it was proposed that the four makers of generators should merge into Daewoo Heavy Ind. Two months later, the new company born of the merger, which was renamed Korea Heavy Industry, was suddenly turned into a public corporation, in which the Daewoo Group was not allowed to make a capital investment. In addition, one month later, the government sacked its president and ordered the corporation to be a subsidiary of the government-run Korea Electric Co. Anyhow, changes in the government policy gave a shock to south Korea's industry leaders.

The trouble with the south Korean economy is such that the regrouping of heavy industries does not lead directly to its strengthening.

What is the most fatal to the fragile economy lies in the fact that minor enterprises producing precision-made equipment are still to be developed. Unlike big enterprises which may be able to develop their financial position rapidly on their own, it usually takes 10 years or more for a minor enterprise to establish itself in industry.

Moreover, even big business groups lag far behind those in industrialized nations in technology and technical development capability. In the case of the automotive industry, south Korean technical engineers are still incapable of making a change in the original design by themselves. There is no alternative for electric generator industry but to depend entirely on Westinghouse.

It is reported that the south Korean government is planning to carry out the mergers of 166 of the 633 subsidiaries of south Korea's 26 business groups by 1984. However, as the country does not have a political system strong enough to absorb expected social frictions that may arise in the wake of a full-scale industrial and business realignment, the planned regrouping of enterprises in major industries is certain to end in a failure.

3. Ryosu: Export-Oriented Petrochemical Ind.

Deficit-Ridden

Most plants in the Ryosu Petrochemical Complex which started its operation during Dec., 1979- April, 1980 period, are deeply in the red. The Honam Petrochemical Ind. Co. in which Japan's Mitsui & Co. holds a 50 percent share, closed with a deficit of 7 billion won (¥2.2 billion) in December, 1980. Companies in other complexes are also in trouble: The Korea Dow-Jones Co. a deficit of 20 billion won; the Honam Ethylene Co. a deficit of 10 billion won; and the Hanyang Chemical Co. a deficit of 8 billion won. Its amount of deficit is too heavy. A great factor is shrinking domestic demand.

It is widely said that the Honam Petrochemical Co. has an annual 10 billion won depreciation. In addition, in spring last, financial conditions in the Ryosu Petrochemical Complex approached a crisis because of lack of operating funds and high interest rates paid for growing inventories. From spring to summer, the ethylene, electrolysis, and polyetheylen plants curtailed their operations respectively by 40 percent; 30 percent; more than 30 percent.

The Korea Dow-Jones Co. and the Hanyang Chemical Co. (high-density polyetheylen, EDC, vinyl chloride monomer plants) are curtailing operations due to imports of American-made vinyl chloride monomer. it is called the most serious failure of any overseas venture of the Dow-Jones Company.

South Korea lacks natural resources like Japan. Oil products for home uses are higher-priced while those for industrial use are lower-priced.

But, in view of import goods which has an edge in cost, the companies try to increase their operating rates by boosting exports.

Production Falls

In the spring, last year, marked by a serious financial difficulty, the question of paying oil bills generated a major issue among the three concerns in the Ryosu Petrochemical Complex: the Honam Oil Refinery Co. (a fifty-fifty joint venture with Caltex), the Honam Ethylene Co. (a south Korean private capital), and the Honam Petrochemical Co. (a fifty-fifty joint venture with the Chaeil Chemical Co. affiliated with Mitsui & Co.). The three requested the Mitsui to provide an emergency loan. It is said that if any given politically instable government to keep a major oil corporation (Caltex) from leaving, it must have a sort of guarantee from the Japanese enterprises.

Anyhow, although the Honam Petrochemical Co. is operating at 90 percent of its capacity, it is primarily attributable to the government policy of expanding exports. Someone must foot the bills. Though the special price for ethylene was abolished, the government continues its dual price, axing its profitability and inventries are growing again. From the beginning of this year, the Honam Petrochemical Co. is producing at 70 percent of its capacity.

It is impossible to maintain a long-term dependence on exports for over 60 percent of the whole demand for petrochemical products. It is contrary to reason that a country buys crude oil with what little foreign currency it has and promotes a money-losing export. Probably, it seems the south Korean government believes higher-priced gasoline and kerosene and other homeuse oil goods may offset the loss. But, too much emphasis on exports will send inflation skyrocketing, which will in turn dampen domestic demand.

The south Korean government, at first, thought that the self-sufficiency rate of petrochemical products would rise to 70 percent with a total of 500,000 tons of ethylene produced in Ulsan (150,000t) and Ryosu (350,000t). When the second-stage construction plan of the Ryosu Petrochemical Complex took shape, the government envisaged a surplus production for export. The present state of domestic demand is exceptionally abnormal. If domestic demand became bullish eventually, it would be possible for the Ryosu Petrochemical Complex to resume capacity operation. It is a long way to walk, however.

4. Masan: Withdrawal of Foreign Concerns

In Masan, most concerns reduced their operations, while some executive ran away under the cover of night. As of the end of last August, the number of concerns in the Masan Export Free Zone reached 90, of which 75 companies are still operating. 5 did not start their operations yet, and 10 shut down for an indefinite period. The five explain their action by citing an aggravation of the economic situation. They are there for 1-2 years.

5% of Total Export Volume

According to persons working at financial institutions who recently visited the MEFZ, executives of the three or four concerns there expressed their intention to flee under the cover of night because they don't raise "funds for withdrawal" including retirement allowances for workers.

According to an electric wire maker which set up a plant in the MEFZ in 1973 (with capital of ¥250,000,000, head office located in Tokyo), wages of female workers who graduated from middle schools was 8,000 won (now 65,000 won) while those female workers who graduated from high schools were 10,000 won (now 85,000 won). In addition, the managing director of the electric wire company said that "though an annual skyrocketing increase in wages contributed to reduction of price competitiveness to some extent, wages are less than those of Japan. It seems odd that in spite of privileges in taxes and others, some executives or most concerns curtails their operations.

Therefore, the problem is why the Japanese and the south Korean governments agreed upon the presence of Japanese concerns in the MEFZ. While the foreign-currency-hungry south Koreans let in all the applying concerns, the Japanese concerns, after fully utilizing privileges such as a five-year tax-exemption, tried to withdraw from there or to reduce their operations.

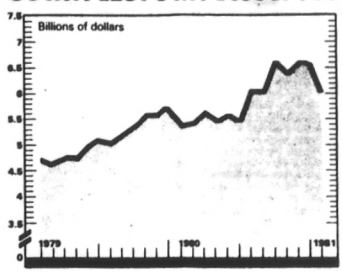
a sort of bilking. Most of these enterprises, including those of general merchandise industry, had already been unprofitable in Japan.

Excepting the above-mentioned vicious companies, such enterprises as lost markets are obliged to withdraw from the MEFZ. A shirt maker which became unpopular because its goods were branded "Made in Korea"; and a shoe maker the bad-quality shoes of which reduced its domestic demand in Japan. Moreover, a steel pipe maker and a needle marker which had utilized tax privileges as the south Korean products for exporting to the United States, are adversely affected by sluggish business conditions in the U.S.

However, even in the case of those concerns which still remain in the MEFZ, their initial intention was to set up their branch factories in south Korea. Therefore, they are behind their head offices in technical improvement due to sky rocketing interest rates there. So, it is a hard fact that their meaning as a branch factory is declining year by year.

11 years has passed since the MEFZ was inaugurated in July 1970, but its exports decreased 5 percent of the total volume of the south Korean exports. It will be inevitable for most concerns which still remain in the MEFZ to withdraw.

South Korean Reserves



South Korea's foreign-exchange holdings in January declined to $6.01 billion.

(From the Feb. 13 issue of the Asian Wall Street Journal)

PYONGYANG CALLS CHON'S ELECTION "FARCE"

Rodong Sinmun (organ of the CC of the WPK) Feb. 26 came out with a commentary captioned "Another 'Power' Robbery" lashing at Chon Du Hwan who staged a marionette show, "election" by the "electral college" composed of his faithful servants, on February 25 and seated himself in puppet presidency according to a pre-arranged script. The author of the commentary says:

No sooner had the "election" of Chon Du Hwan as "president" been cooked up than the puppets set in motion the "Democratic Justice Party," his private political party, and the reptile press in a propaganda barrage describing it as an election representing the people's will with such phraseology as "display of democracy," "expression of trust," and so on. This is a brazen humbuggery for concealing the "power" robbery.

The "presidential election," the commentary continues, was a shameless buffoonery from the very beginning which had been designed with the sinister purpose of letting Chon Du Hwan the military gangster boss the show and establishing a more sanguinary fascist dictatorial system in south Korea.

Chon Du Hwan faked up the "election law" stipulating indirect "election" by the so-called "electoral college," putting down the unanimous desire and demand of the south Korean people at the point of the bayonet, and forced the "election" this time.

This is, in essence, a rehashed version of the "presidential election" by the "national conference for unification" which the defunct dictator had invented as a tool for his long-term office.

Pointing out that Chon Du Hwan rigged the "election" by the unrivalled operation of the "Democratic Justice Party," his private political party, with the democratic figures and his political adversaries got rid of and influential political parties and organisations all disbanded, the commentary says:

The "election" returns on February 25 were trumped up by the fascist power and the "trust" claimed by them is a sheer fabrication.

The "election" staged by the puppets this time was, in fact, not an "election" and, therefore, no one recognizes such "election" returns.

As for "president-elect" Chon Du Hwan, he is by origin a traitor to the nation not qualified for a president. He should have been brought to justice by the people.

It is the greatest shame to the south Korean people for this cursed gangster to be seated in "power."

The puppets are beautifying the "regime" framed up in robber-like way and claiming that the "yusin system" has given place to a "new age" with the appearance of this "regime."

This is a dupery for creating illusion among the people.

The commentary points out that the Chon Du Hwan puppet "regime" is no more than a ruling system of fascism and war, division and treachery, and a retrogressive version of the "yusin system," to all intents and purposes.

Declaring that the United States is to blame for the seating of traitor Chon Du Hwan estranged from the people in "power," the commentary continues:

The U.S. imperialists chose Chon Du Hwan as a pliant tool executing their colonial policy in south Korea and manipulated his power robbery and backed it with "strength" from the beginning.

Especially, Reagan invited him to the White House even before he was formally made "president" and grasped his blood-stained hand, trying to raise the price of his body, and even committed the crime of legalizing with him the permanent occupation of south Korea by the U.S. imperialist aggression forces.

The Chon Du Hwan military fascist "regime" is a product of the U.S. imperialist colonial policy in south Korea.

The Korean people will not forget the crime of the U.S. imperialists, the mastermind of the bloodbath in Kwangju and strangulation of democratic civil rights and the very one who placed a human-butcher in the south Korean "regime," but surely settle score with them one day.

"Kim Dae Jung As I Know Him"

By Moon Tong Hwan

The followint is a gist of an article of Rev. Moon Tong Hwan contributed to the November 1980 issue of "Korea Scope" published by International Christian Network for Democracy in Korea based on New York.

In his article "Kim Dae Jung As I Know Him", he wrote what kind of a man is Kim Dae Jung through his contacts with him.

Moon Tong Hwan signed the March 1 statement in March, 1976 with Kim Dae Jung and other human rights leaders in south Korea, in which they demanded the abolition of the yusin system emergency measure No. 9 and restoration of democracy.

Moon Tong Hwan (Steven Moon) now residing in the U.S., was ex professor of Hanguk Theological College.

Follows its first part

(Subtitles are ours. . . . . Ed.)

Ex-"presidential" candidate Kim Dae Jung

Who Is Kim Dae Jung?

Mr. Kim, Dae Jung is the most popular opposition politician in Korea today. He ran against the late President Park, Chung Hee in the 1971 Korean presidential elections. Park was elected then for a third time after forcefully changing the constitution so that he could run for a third term. Kim managed his campaign and almost defeated Park with 45% of the popular vote despite of heavy irregularities in the process of balloting and counting the votes.

Kim, Dae Jung, a faithful Roman Catholic, is a firm believer in a participatory system of government and a strong advocate of justice. His popularity is phenomenal. One has only to attend one of his public meetings to see what a warm place he has in the hearts of the people. Because of this popularity, however, attempts on his life have been made several times by his political opponents, and he is now about to be eliminated from the political scene for good.

In the middle of the night of May 17th, this year, General Chun Doo Hwan, then the chief of military intelligence, extended martial law to cover the whole nation, and arrested hundreds of opposition leaders and leaders of the human rights movement, beginning with Kim, Dae Jung. Soon the arrested were tried in a military court under the charge of sedition which was fabricated by the use of torture and false witnesses. On September 17th, after a month-long trial, Kim, Dae Jung was sentenced to be hanged and 23 other co-defendents were sentenced to 2 to 20 years imprisonment.

What kind of a man is Kim, Dae Jung and how has he become such a staunch champion of justice and human rights.

During the presidential election of 1971, Western reporters often called him a John F. Kennedy of the Orient. His youthful attractive news and flashing wisdom indeed remind us of the late president Kennedy. However, I prefer to compare him with another U.S. President, Abraham Lincoln. I do this because they are very similar in their humble origins. They both educated themselves, and they both became well known because of their deep concern for justice.

Kim, Dae Jung, son of Kim, Woon Shik, was born in 1925 on a small island off the shore of Mokpo, a port city on the southwestern tip of Korea. According to the present indictment under which he is now imprisoned, and which was written primarily to discredit him among the Korean people, Kim was an illegitimate child, probably the son of a concubine. Although it was quite a common practice in those days for a man to have a concubine, the status of an illegitimate child was and still is very low, and the fate of such a child is a difficult one.

Undoubtedly, Chun, Doo Hwan wanted to use this story against him. However, the bitter fate of having to bear such a stigma whether true or not has, on the contrary, contributed toward good, because it has helped him to understand the difficult lot of the oppressed common folk and ultimately has led him to stand on the side of the victimized people.

Although his early life is not widely known, it seems to be certain that his early childhood was an unfortunate one. This we can tell by the fact that, inspite of his brilliant mind, he was not given schooling beyond the 9th grade. Furthermore, his early days were shadowed by the Japanese Imperial rule which brought much suffering to most of the Korean people. One can easily imagine how a bright and sensitive person like Kim, Dae Jung must have been yearning for a free and just society.

Coming from such a background, Kim has been deeply interested in public affairs since his youth. In 1945, when the country was emancipated from Japan by U.S. forces, he at the age of 20, became a journalist. Through this experience, he grew a lot by observing, analyzing, and reporting what was happening in the world. He worked deligently and read ferociously. This was the time when he participated in the Preparatory Committee for the Building of the Nation, organized by a nationalists leader by the name of Yu Woon Hyung shortly after the surrender of Japan in 1945. Mr. Yu was one of such leaders who remained in Korea at that time.

When Kim, Dae Jung joined the organization he did not really know its nature. As a young man of 20, he wanted to contribute something to building up his nation. Soon, however, he discovered that the organization was leftist. Furthermore, he was disenchanted when he discovered that some of the members were more loyal to the USSR than their own people. This angered him to no end. After a bitter fight, he left the Committee in the summer of 1946.

He learned how evil it was to have an artifically divided nation turning against itself. This propelled him to go into politics.

He was first elected to the National Assembly (Korea's unicameral Congress) in 1961 and later re-elected three times in 1963, 1967, and 1971.

Although he publicly was already a well known figure, my acquaintance with him started in a strange place and in a strange manner. In March, 1976, about a dozen human rights leaders were taken into the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) headquarters for interrogation. Both Kim, Dae Jung and I were in that group. Both of us signed the statement which was read on March 1st, Korea's Independence Day, at the Myung Dong Catholic Cathedral in Seoul, asking the government to lift its Emergency Decree No. 9. This decree virtually prohibited any kind of criticism toward the government. We also demanded the recovery of a democratic system of government, revoking the Yushin Constitution which was entirely anti-democratic.

We were at the KCIA for about two weeks, there they handed us over to the prosecutor's office. After a brief period of questioning, the guards led me to a large dimly-lit hall where I joined a few friends of mine in one of the corners. As we were comparing notes, a voice interjected itself into our conversation: "Although we now suffer unjustly, our arrest and the expected trial cause a tremendous commotion not only within the country, but also, all over the world." The voice added: "Who knows? This may break the spell of Emergency Decree No. 9."

We all turned and discovered Kim, Dae Jung on the other side of the room, the owner of that voice of hope. Quickly our conversation was resumed this time, around Kim, Dae Jung until the guards took us back to the West Gate Prison around 3 a.m. that night.

The impression which I received from this first encounter with him was a sense of confidence along with an open and inviting manner. I felt as if I was one of his long time friends. Also, the amazing amount of knowledge which he seemed to possess about the events taking place surprised me. How did he know all the things he told us, sitting in the KCIA interrogation room? This impression was further strengthened as our friendship developed in our prison cells, in the court room, and thereafter.

Where was this sense of confidence coming from, which enabled him to be so open and inviting? After a few years of contact with him since then, I have come to the conclusion that his confidence was from a real and down-to-earth knowledge about the world and from his ability to cope with its childhood. He was also an avid this knowledge during his early childhood. He was also an avid reader. I have often heard him say, "If you had gone through what I had, you would understand what I mean."

Stands by People

There is another source that provides him with a sense of confidence. That is his conviction that he is on the right side of the game, that is to say, on the side of the people. "Never betray the people and always stand by the people" is his life motto as a politician. He once told an audience about his family teaching. There are three points to it: (1) Be faithful to God and to people; (2) Be responsible for your own future; (3) Never become rich. His loyalty to God is equal to his loyalty to people, and he considers the rich a potential rival for this loyalty and warns against this rivalry.

There is a deeper source of his confidence. That is the belief that God will be on his side so long as he puts God and people as his first priority. This belief has been strengthened by his repeated experience of being miraculously delivered from very real dangers, including the 1973 kidnapping incident. "God has saved my life several times at the threshold of death," has said on many occasions to visitors. Then he usually adds, "God must have a plan for me. I am only to trust God and give my life for causes which please God."

The other day, right after the death sentence was handed down to him, I called, from the United States, Mrs. Lee, Hee Ho, his wife who is in Korea. She told me over the phone what he said to her during her last visit with him: "My life is in God's hands. He has a plan for me. So let's not worry about my life. There are so many other things to worry about."

I guess in a nutshell, we might say that his sense of confidence comes from the certainty of his vocation; that is, bringing about a just society where political freedom and economic justice is assured for all people.

Another aspect of him that stands out, as one comes to know him more closely, is his deep feeling for people. It seems that he has a secret way of relating to folks and understanding their feelings and aspirations. Anyone who has seen him giving a public speech would testify to this. Sensing immediately what the audience is feeling and thinking, he brings out their issues and addresses them in a most sympathetic way, creating a genuine rapport. I am amazed at how he does it! The only explanation seems to be that he is a part of that group which has been victimized for centuries by unjust rulers and society.

That something which creates the strong bond between Kim, Dae Jung and the people is not simply his warm understanding of them, but also, his deep trust of them. In other words, he not only knows how deeply people are longing for freedom and justice, but also, how ready they are for it. He sees and senses this readiness in their responses to him.

He has seen this readiness before in both world history, and Korea's history. In a recent speech at the Seoul YWCA last March, he clearly described how people, throughout the centuries, have fought to protect their God-given rights and maintained their integrity as human beings. Even in recent history, he has personally seen how people have fought in the streets, in the churches, in the courtroom, in the prison cells, and even in the ballot booths for these rights and this integrity. He sees the spirit of the people spreading wider and growing deeper as they struggle against the insurmountable barriers set up by the merciless rulers.

(To be continued)

Legend

Song Bu and Ri Rang

The folk song "Arirang" is a famous song loved by the Korean people and widely known to the world.

It began to be sung by people at the middle of the Li dynasty (the feudal state which existed in Korea from 1392 to 1910).

The Korean people liked very much this song strong in national sentiment and easy to sing. Later they modified its words to express their feelings. This is why this song has scores of variants.

These variants have their own stories reflecting local people's lives.

One of them is the story of Song Bu and Ri Rang.

Lad Ri Rang and lass Song Bu were servants of a squire named Kim Jwa Su in Kyonggi Province. They lost their parents in their childhood. Working for the squire, they lived helping and encouraging each other. In the course love budded in their hearts. Their hard lot bound them together tightly.

They, however, could not open their hearts to each other and they were not allowed to speak of love because they were servants.

One year a horrible famine came. The damned squire ruthlessly exploited the hunger-stricken sharecroppers.

Farmers' rage went off.

Ri Rang, too, could not keep back his wrath against the squire.

One night, he and other servants and peasants rose and disposed of the rascal, and then attacked the local administration office. They did away with all wicked officials and broke into the rice storage and gave out rice to people.

That night, the local magistrate fled bare-footed in a flurry. He ran to the magistrate of a neighbouring county for help and informed the court of this at once.

The court rushed the government army. The army encircled the revolters ring upon ring and put them down brutally.

Many revolters fell bleeding.

Ri Rang who fought at the head shed bitter tears, beating his breast with his fist.

He went with Song Bu into the depths of Mt. Surak with a mind to rise again in future after fostering a new strength.

They built a hut on a sunny spot and lived happily helping each other though everything was needed.

But Ri Rang did not forget even a moment his comrades who fell in the revolt.

One day he said to Song Bu that he would go to revenge his friends upon the enemy.

Song Bu dared not to dissuade him from his plan because she knew well his mind.

He promised to return home in 100 days. She bade him farewell with a smile. But tears of sorrow streamed down in spite of herself.

Going over the mountain pass, he heard her singing between sobs

Arirang, arirang, anantiyo
Ah, Ri rang goes over the pass
I am aggrieved.
To part with you, my dear.
But you go far and away
Into a land I don't know where.

Her tearful voice rent his heart.

Waiting for her husband in the mountain, Song Bu lived on with a strong heart. Time glided away and the winter came, and snows covered all the mountain.

One day a squire named Paek Sang Do, who lived near the mountain, came to the mountain on hunting. On his way home with the game of a few hares, he happened to see her from a distance. He felt a lust for her. From that day on he came to her every day.

(Continued on page 7)

"A-Bomb Victims in White Chogori" (3)

"I Don't Want to Be Killed Like Dog"

Chong Sun Nam, 57 years old, female; a resident of Koichi, Ankoshi-cho, Hiroshima City; Chiro-myon, Hyopchon county, S. Kyongsang Prov.; bombed in Hiroshima City

(Continued from the previous issue)

I was born into a farming family. I married Li Man Su (27 years old) when I was 17 years old. When I look back on my past days, it seems to me that our destiny was already decided when Japan started invasion of China in 1937.

After that we were forced to come to Japan as "draftees," treated like pigs and were bombed. Further, our homeland was divided.

When I was 17, I was married to Li, whom my parents decided as my husband. It was only for a brief span of time that I lived with him. My husband was forcibly taken to Japan as a draftee in less than a year after our marriage. I was pregnant then. What could I do? I could do nothing but weep. A plan for mobilizing draftees was carried out in my village. Young men 22 years old or under were taken for military service, and others as labor draftees. Men disappeared one after another from my village. What was worse, Japanese soldiers rushed into our village in a truck and took away youths as they worked on the fields.

In June 1937 Japan started invading China. This made it necessary for Japan's coal industry to use Korean labor massively.

At first my husband was taken to the Yubari mines (Hokkaido). Later he was moved to the Okinoyama mines (Ube, Yamaguchi Prefecture) thanks to his brother's assistance.

According to the authorities my husband had to serve three years as a labor draftee. That was my only solace, and I lived, believing he would return home in three years. He would surely return home in three years, I thought. My eldest daughter Songgi was born. I worked very hard, thinking that my husband would return home by the time Songgi began to walk and speak baby talk.

One day after two years, my husband suddenly returned home. He told me that he came back to take us to Japan. He became thin and looked 10 years older. Many attempted to flee every day at the mines, unable to endure hard labor and persecution. As a measure to prevent Koreans from fleeing, they were made to live with their families.

Our dwelling house was a shack like a pigsty. We were not given enough food. A cave-in occurred almost every day. I used to lose my consciousness whenever I saw the black-stained corpses of our compatriots being carried out from the pits. The corpses blackened by coal were indistinguishable. Korean miners were forced to do dangerous work in the pits. The Japanese overseers took a kickback from the wages of Koreans. They even sold rationed goods for Koreans through illegal channels. I lived in a settlement of about 300 Koreans. Every Korean knew how the Japanese mine authorities and overseers cheated Koreans. No Koreans were able to protest. Those Koreans who protested were half-killed. The shack was a prison without bars. I felt more dead than alive everyday. Three years had passed, but they did not allow us to return to our homeland. When we asked the mine authorities about the matter, our request was flatly turned down and treated with ridicule. One day, a cave-in occurred in a neighboring mine. Seawater flooded the pits and water-proof walls broke. Then many Korean draftees were burried in the pit. As far as I saw with my own eyes almost all the Koreans working there were killed. I still remember the anguished cries of their wives and children, "Aigo! Aigo! (a Korean expression of sorrow)."

Each time we attempted to flee, we failed. My husband was tortured. Being hanged from the ceiling, my husband was beaten by bamboo-sticks until he lost consciousness. Cold water was poured on his face and he was beaten again. That meant his sure death.

Food given us was worse than that given pigs. We had to work harder than Japanese. They continued persecuting us. Our strength began to fail us.

Man's spiritual strength is marvelous. The more he was whipped, the more he thought he should live at any cost. He didn't want to be killed like a dog. "I am a Korean. I will survive as a proud Korean." These thoughts seemed to support him.

One day after the mining incident, our cousin living in Hiroshima called on us. Our parents and brothers in the homeland wrote letters to my uncle in Hiroshima, inquiring after our living. Then, my cousin came to us. My cousin urged us to flee, saying "You will be killed here." We attempted to flee at night, but we were ferreted out. My husband was nearly killed. But six months later we succeeded in fleeing from there.

We started a sundry goods store (in Hiroshima). The police authorities came to us frequently and interfered in our business. We were used to being taken to police stations. Policemen wanted to get goods. Plates and spoons, and other goods in my store were finally confiscated. My husband was obliged to work as a construction worker.

In those days, almost of all goods were rationed. We didn't buy goods freely, but queued up. When I waited in queue, Japanese broke into the queue one after another. Japanese bought better goods and what I was able to buy were inferior goods or few remaining goods. Sugar was valuable in those days and babies were able to get rationed sugar. I asked the distribution office about the sugar ration, and an officer there said, "Eat garlic, you Koreans! If there is any sugar, we would give it to a pig."

River Filled With Corpses

I was accustomed to be despised. Shortly after that, an atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. That day (Aug. 6) the inhabitants of Nakachoshi were scheduled to do the work of demolishing buildings in Hiroshima City. On the day at about 8:00 a.m., my husband, three children and I were at home. Stunned by a sharp flash and a terrific explosion, we instinctively got outdoors. We found a mashroom cloud above the city. After a while, various things came down from the darkened sky. Among them were paper money, cloth, pieces of wood. All were burnt. The sky above Hiroshima City was black with smoke.

Rumors spread from the mouths of the people who had fled from the city. They were: "A special bomb was dropped on Hiroshima." "Warhouses of explosives caught fire." "Hiroshima is in a sea of flames," or "Most people there have been burnt to death."

On that evening, my cousin returned home, creeping, with his clothes burnt and blood-stained all over. He said that he had been bombed near Yokogawa. All was confusion in Hiroshima. He barely managed to make his escape.

We headed for the city to look for our uncle. We were unable to advance beyond the Sanjo Bridge. We spent all the night wide awake.

The next morning, we once again headed for Hiroshima. The area around Yokogawa was cordoned off by the army.

The crowds of atomic-bomb victims fleeing in search of safe places from the city made us felt as if we were looking at pictures of hell. We saw those walking slowly and murmuring with unfocussed eyes, hanging their burnt skin from their bodies. We tried to find our uncle among them. Those who died in Yokogawa were laid down as if they were bundles of wheat. We spent a whole day, looking for our uncle in the heaped corpses and among the fleeing people. My uncle returned home safe with hardly any injury.

He escaped danger and ran away to a place where there was no fire. Afterwards, he returned to our homeland, where he died in less than three years. He used to say "I was lucky," but there is no luck in atomic bombing disaster.

Two weeks later, we looked for another uncle in the ruins of Hiroshima. Nothing remained in the burnt city. Only corpses. The most disasterous place was near the Aioi Bridge. Blackened corpses lined on the bridge. The river was filled with corpses. The air reeked with rolling smell. We visited schools and meeting halls where victims were accommodated. People there were gasping, "Give me water." Trucks came there and corpses were carried to be burnt. Even those who were alive were loaded on the trucks. They were burnt alive. My cousin died later.

One month after the atomic bombing my hair began to fall out and my eyesight grew weak. I felt unwell. So did my husband. My husband, worked hard as a rag-and-bone merchant to feed our children. I worked hard, too.

My husband died of liver trouble in December 1960, 15 years after the war. He was 50 years old. He had troubled in his stomach and internals.

My husband didn't have an atomic victim's certificate. When I talked with him that he was suffering from radiation disease. He was angry with me, saying that he didn't want to receive assistance from the Japanese authorities. That was the posture of his utmost resistance. He was hospitalized and received recuperation at home frequently. Finally, he died alone.

After his death, there was no one who supported my children. I worked hard from morning till night.

As I was radiated just after the bombing, I have been suffering from heart trouble, paralysis of my hands and legs, hernia and high blood pressure. My children had trouble in internal organs. They underwent operations and were hospitalized. I always have anxieties.

We have been suspected to racial humiliation. A large number of Korean atomic-bomb victims died. The after-effects of the bombing still continue.

The Korean atomic air-raid victims are treated differently from Japanese victims. I don't mean allowances and such money matters. What I mean is that such racial discrimination should be ended.

In the countryside of Korea, the rice we cultivated was deprived of us by the Japanese and we Koreans ate barnyard grass. That was the difference between the discriminators and the discriminated.

The atomic bomb indiscriminately killed Koreans and Japanese. Those who invade others' land will have their land invaded and those who kill, will be killed. I am one of the Koreans who were victims of Japanese invasion, and were discriminated but I never harbour a grudge against the Japanese.

As a Korean A-bomb victim I must declare. No more wars. No more atomic bombs. The Korean A-bomb victims are not alone in demanding a ban on "nuclear weapons."

(To be continued)

(Continued from page 6)

He threatened and cajoled her to gain her heart, but in vain.

One day he said to her, "Your husband was killed long ago by the government. You must not waste your rosy youth, waiting for the one who never comes back."

She knew he was lying and said to him to gain time, "Then, let me wait until the first anniversary of his death."

The anniversary was the date of their reunion promised by Ri Rang.

At last the day came. She impatiently waited and heard the familiar footsteps. Ri Rang appeared and she shot out of the room unable to stand for joy.

She wanted to ask him about his journey and his health but first prepared supper for him. She started to set the table, when the squire Paek Sang Do turned up in the courtyard and called, "Is Song Bu at home?"

At the sight of the squire her lips quivered with rage. Ri Rang's eyes were as a fire. He shot an angry glare at her and the squire. He did for the squire then and there and said to her, "You could not wait for me and... with the squire....." And he went over the pass, giving no time for her to utter a word.

It was a thunderbolt to her. Hot tears streamed down her cheeks.

Her heartbreaking weeping changed into a sorrowful song. Her singing stopped at dawn. She killed herself by planting a dagger into her breast.

Ri Rang recovered from his excitement the next day. He thought again and was confident that she could never betray him and he acted rashly. He turned back. On the pass he stopped short. He saw her lying in blood on the ground. He rushed to her body and, calling her name, raised it in his arms.

His heartrending cry echoed through the mountain.

But it was no use crying over her death. No mournful calls and cries could take her back to life.

He went again into the depths of the mountain with burning hatred for the exploiter society and revengeful thought.

From that time the Korean people called the pass the "Arirang" pass and the song Song Bu sang longing for Ri Rang "Arirang."

NEWS DISPATCH FROM PYONGYANG

Feb. 10

- Tak Gwan Chol, ambassador of the DPRK to Bangladesh paid a farewell call on Shah Azizur Rahman, Prime Minister of Bangladesh. The Bangladesh prime minister expressed satisfaction with the excellent development of relations between the two countries and governments of Bangladesh and Korea, and said that this was based on the good relations between the heads of state of the two countries.

Feb. 12

- A Polish team arrived in Pyongyang by plane to participate in the International Junior Speed Skating Competition for Friendship among socialist countries scheduled in the DPRK.
- Maumoon Abdul Gayoom, President of the Republic of Maldives, met Pak Min Sop, DPRK ambassador to his country. Supporting the Korean people's cause of the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, the Maldives president laid stress on further development of the friendly and cooperative relations between Maldives and Korea.

Feb. 13

- An agreement on the mutual delivery of commodities and payments for 1981-85 between the governments of the DPRK and the Mongolian People's Republic was signed in Pyongyang. A protocol on the mutual delivery of commodities and payments for 1981 between the governments of Korea and Mongolia was also signed on the same day.
- Vice-Premier Kye Ung Tae met the government trade delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic headed by N. Baisu, Vice Minister of Foreign Trade.

- A delegation of the Japanese Society of Independence headed by Osaka Yoshiharu, Permanent Secretary of the Society, arrived in Pyongyang by train.
- Kaysone Phomvihane, General Secretary of the CC of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and Prime Minister of the Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, met DPRK ambassador to his country Yun Jong Sop. The prime minister stressed that the Lao People's Revolutionary Party has always and resolutely supported the proposal for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country put forward by President Kim Il Sung, noting that the struggle of the Korean people for national reunification is a just one and that Korea would certainly be reunified.

Feb. 14

- Cameroonian Prime Minister Paul Biya met DPRK ambassador to his country Ji Ik Hong. Referring to the proud successes achieved in all fields of the revolution and construction under the wise guidance of President Kim Il Sung, the Cameroon prime minister expressed the belief that the Korean people would surely attain the ten long-term objectives set forth at the Sixty Congress of the WPK and that the reunification of Korea should be achieved by the Korean people themselves independently and peacefully.

Feb. 17

- A public health delegation of the DPRK headed by Pak Myong Bin left Pyongyang by plane for a visit to Guyana.

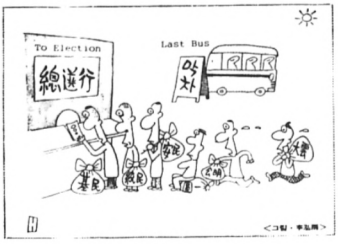
Feb. 18

- A government delegation of the DPRK headed by Rim Hyong Gu left Pyongyang by plane to attend celebrations of the fifth anniversary of the proclamation of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic. **(KCNA)**

Election in South Korean Cartoons

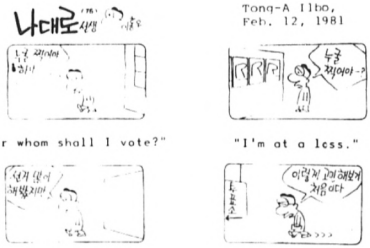
Despite strict censorship by the authorities, the south Korean newspapers and magazines, in their cartoons, reported that people show no interest in an election by the rubber-stamp electoral college because they know in advance that the election is unfair and a farce and that the results of the election are a foregone conclusion.

Here are cartoons from south Korea's major newspapers showing people's attitude toward the election.

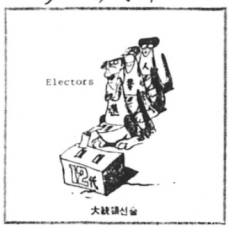


"DON'T MISS THE BUS."

Tong-A Ilbo, Feb. 15, 1981


나대로
"For whom shall I vote?"
"I'm at a less."
"I have participated elections in the past."
"It is for the first time that I felt difficulty in voting."

Tong-A Ilbo, Feb. 12, 1981



"PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION"

Tong-A Ilbo, Feb. 26, 1981

"LET'S DECIDE WITH THIS!"

Hanguk Ilbo, Feb. 11, 1981

"FAMILIAR SIGNBOARD"

Tong-A Ilbo, Feb. 7, 1981

THE PEOPLE'S KOREA Published every Saturday by the Choson Sinbo Company For subscription or further details, please write to the Editorial Department, 5, Tsukudo-Hachiman-cho, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 162 Japan Tel. 03-269-0131-8 Anybody is free to reproduce or quote any stories or articles in The People's Korea.